

INDEPENDENCY

THE

O B J E C T

OF THE

CONGRESS

IN

A M E R I C A.

OR, AN

A P P E A L to F A C T S.



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But as the Colonies are certainly the Aggressors, as Hostilities commenced on their Side, not only by a most outrageous Demolition of *British* Property, but by traitorously levying War against the Parent State, it certainly follows that Overtures of Peace must come from them; and more especially after conciliatory Proposals have been held out to them, by Government, notwithstanding their rebellious Proceedings. If the Colonies persist in refusing to make such Overtures, it will then appear evident to the most superficial Understanding, that they are fighting for Independency. Which from the general Conduct of the Congress in *America*, there is too much Reason to suppose at this Time to be the great Object of that unconstitutional Meeting, as I shall endeavour to evince by an Appeal to Facts.

That the evil Effects of Rebellion should follow from so trivial a Circumstance as a Three-penny Duty on Tea, (while that Article of Luxury still remained cheaper to the *Americans*, than when purchased of other Nations, and was therefore in Fact.

neither

neither a Tax nor a Grievance) must appear inconceivable, to all such as are unacquainted with the Venality of our Party Views at Home, and the Republican Principles of the *New-England* Fanatics, disaffected to the established Government of *Britain*.

Taxation was the Plea for raising a rebellious Army against the Parent State, while Independency, too much encouraged by pretended Patriots in *England*, was and is the real Object of the Republicans in *America*; and from their great Influence in the Congress, and the Conduct of the Delegates in Consequence, it is now manifest that the Majority of that Body, are animated with the same Principles.

No Man wishes for Peace more than I do; but common Justice to those in Power, who are represented as Men that delight in shedding Blood, the Blood of *British* Subjects, obliges me to vindicate *them*. And the Duty I owe to my native Country, impels me, at the same Time, to contribute my Mite, however insignificant, that the *English* Nation may be convinced, unna-

tural as this War will appear to every one, that the Odium must fall on the Colonies, not on *Great-Britain*.

History cannot furnish such an Instance, of Subjects enjoying every Advantage of a mild and generous Government—of a People unmolested in their Property, and affectionately encouraged, and supported from Infancy to Manhood by an indulgent Parent, thus wantonly precipitating themselves, and their Posterity into Ruin, and for what? a mere Jealousy of *ideal* Grievances, of Grievances, that never existed but in a deluded Imagination, imposed on by the Wiles of knavish Hypocrisy.

If the People of *Boston* had been willing to make Satisfaction for the greatest Insult that was ever offered to any Government, the unjust Demolition of the Property of its Subjects, not a Life would have been lost on either Side; but when instead of endeavouring to compose the Disputes with the Mother Country, Preparations were made for War on the Part of the Colonies: When the *Canadians*, altogether unconcerned in the Dispute, were invited by base and treacherous

treacherous Means to take Part with them; when military Magazines were erected; when the executive and legislative Authority were wrested from Government: The Governor and Commander in Chief (General Gage) insulted by rebellious Demagogues, perpetually haranguing the People, and urging them, by the most seditious Language, to resist the Authority of Parliament; and finally, when the *British* Troops were attacked in a dastardly Manner from the Windows of Houses, and from behind Stone Walls, it then became no longer a Doubt, that the Intention of the *Massachusetts*, must have been to wage War for the Purpose of Independency.

The other Colonies having thought fit to justify their Proceedings, they are all now involved in the same Guilt.

And surely it would ill become the Spirit of *Britons*, to be inactive on their Part. Will any Man dare to say, that it is consistent with the Honour, or the Interest of *Great-Britain*, to withdraw her Forces from *America*, and in so doing prostrate herself at the Feet of the Congress? Shall

Britain

Britain submit to Terms of Peace, dictated by Subjects in Arms against the established Government? The Contest, I well know, will cost this Country some Millions; but such a mercantile Consideration, will never induce her tamely to surrender her Rights.

I readily admit that the present War is of all Wars the most unnatural. For that very Reason, the *Americans* should be the first to sue for Peace.

Can it be thought that *Great-Britain*, whose Government has been insulted, whose constitutional Supremacy is denied, whose Dominions have been invaded, will crouch to Subjects in Rebellion? Can *Englishmen* wish to see their Country so far degraded, as to make ignominious Concessions under such multiplied Instances of Provocation? Forbid it Heaven! The Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us; *France* and *Spain* would no Doubt be well pleased, that our patriotic Petitioners should gain their Point.

To behold a rival State disarmed, by the Partizans of a rebellious Congress, is quite consistent with their Policy. The Reason is obvious, from that very Moment the
Colonies

Colonies must cease to be dependent on Britain, and the Americans cease to be British Subjects.

Such, I am sorry to say, is the Nature of Opposition at this Time among us, that the Honour, the Welfare of *England*, is no longer regarded. Let her Armies perish with Famine and Disease; let her Government be trampled on by the very worst of Men; let lawless Tyranny prevail in *America*, and the well-affected Subjects of *Britain* be persecuted with the Severity of an Inquisition. Although the whole Continent of *America* should be lost to the Parent State, if these Men can but enrich themselves, their Ends are accomplished. But I trust they will be foiled in their destructive Politics; the People of *England*, I mean the thinking Part, are too enlightened to be imposed on, by the Anti-Ministerial Jargon of designing Adventurers.

A Mile-End Meeting, a *Globe-Tavern* Association, or the Purlieus of *St. Giles's*, *Grub-street*, and *Drury*, may join in the Cry of "Down with *Old England*, the Congress for ever." But the landed; and the

the commercial Interest of this Country, and all such as have honest Hearts and sound Judgments, will reflect with Horror, and with Indignation, on the Conduct of Men, who for the Sake of Party Animosity, or of Vanity, or private Emolument, have plunged thousands into Want and Beggary, and are endeavouring to wrest from the Land of their Nativity, Possessions that have cost her immense Sums, and the Blood of her best Subjects.

How must the Conduct of the Champions of the Congress appear, when contrasted with that of a General *Wolfe*, who nobly fought, and bravely died in the Service of *Britain*. These Men are as eager to level with the Dust the Dignity and the constitutional Rights of their Country, as that great Man was anxious for its Prosperity and for Victory, even in his dying Moments.

While the Dispute between the Mother Country and the Colonies was altogether of a speculative Nature, it was natural enough for *Britons* to be divided in Opinion. If Taxation is to be included under the general Idea of Supremacy, or if it is more con-

consistent with the Spirit of our Constitu-
 tion of Government, to suppose the Ne-
 cessity of Representation, as the Founda-
 tion of the Power of levying Taxes on the
 Colonies, these are Points, I do confess,
 that will afford much Latitude for Debate.
 I pretend not to intrude my Opinion in a
 dogmatical Manner. If the Right of Taxe-
 ation is admitted over a free People not re-
 presented, it should seem that a Security is
 necessary, on the other Hand, against the
 Abuse of that Right. But certain it is, that
 Contribution is due, in Return for Protec-
 tion. And Subjects are bound by the ge-
 neral Laws that unite Men in Society, to
 bear their due Proportion of Expence, in
 Consequence of such Protection. In the Course of these few Sheets it will
 appear, that Lord North has, by Means of
 his *conciliatory* Plan, endeavoured to remove
 every Objection founded on Jealousy, and
 the Suspicion of a too great Latitude of
 Power in the Parent State. I confess all
 Ministers are liable to err, but to represent
 the Duty on Tea as a Measure tending to
 enslave, is not the Effect of public Virtue,

but of Malevolence and disappointed Ambition. That such a Measure should occasion a Rebellion, will be a lasting Reflection on those that promoted it.

However we may dispute about Taxation, it still remains uncontroverted, that *Great-Britain* has a Right to demand a Supply from her Subjects in *America*. That Right is vested in the three Estates of the Realm. The Colonies are in Duty bound to furnish such Quotas for their own Protection and Defence, as their Circumstances will permit. The making an Offer to Parliament of what they can afford to give, was the obvious Meaning of the conciliatory Plan; nothing could be more equitable.

But such is the Nature of our Opposition, such the Temper of the violent Republicans in *America*, that no Disposition has been shewn to treat at all on the Subject. The former are contending for Independency, the latter for Places of Trust and Profit; while the real Interest of *Britain* and of *America* is sacrificed by both.

The Encouragement of Discontents in the Colonies has been, for some Years, the Ground

Ground of Opposition in *Britain*, conducted by such Patriots as are regardless of evil Consequences to their Country, if they can but supplant a Minister. Wantonly to fly to Arms for the Purpose of Independence, is the Principle of the Republicans in *America*. Their Leaders are for the most Part necessitous Men, turbulent, seditious Spirits, blending a fanatical Zeal against the Church of *England* with their political Principles; fond of promoting Anarchy and Confusion, that they may avail themselves of a general Scramble, rise into Consequence on the Shoulders of a Mob, and riot at the Expence of Millions.

Their pretended Friends in *Britain*, disappointed in their ambitious Projects, depend altogether on a Change of Ministers for the Support of their Extravagance.

It is not therefore to be wondered, that a Minister in *England*, while he studies the Welfare of his Country, is exposed to the greatest Difficulties. Venality and Disaffection are two Hydras, that are ever ready to tear him to Pieces, if he will not suffer them to prey on the Vitals of *Old England*.

"Taxation is a noble Topic for Declamation: If a Clamour can be raised in Consequence, among the People of *England* and of *America*, it is hoped the Minister will be terrified—will resign—and then the Business is done; the glorious Talk is completed.

It would be uncharitable perhaps to entertain an Idea that Members of Parliament, that *British* Senators, would willingly promote a Rebellion for the Purpose of gratifying their Resentment or their Ambition.

A Quotation from *Junius*, the celebrated *Junius*, shall determine that Matter. No one will accuse *Junius* of being an Enemy to Lord *Chatham* or Lord *Camden*, Men who are now the professed Advocates of the Congress; and yet it unfortunately happens for those Gentlemen, that their much admired *Junius* expresses himself in the following Manner: "Mr. *Grenville* (the Minister) was at any Rate to be distressed, because he was Minister, and Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Camden* were to be the Patrons of *America*, because they were in Opposition, their Declaration gave Spirit and Argument to
" the

“the Colonies, and while perhaps they
 “meant no more than the Ruin of a Mi-
 “nister, they in Effect divided one Half of
 “the Empire from the other.”

In this Manner does Junius, the avowed
 Enemy of the Court, and in particular of
 Lord North, declare, that for the Sake of
 opposing a Minister, every public Virtue is
 disregarded. It will not be disputed, that
 the dividing one Part of the Empire from
 the other, is, in other Words, forwarding
 the INDEPENDENCY of the Colonies.

And now let me appeal to the Feelings
 of every honest *Englishman*: Can such
 Party Views be deemed justifiable: And to
 whom are we to attribute the present Re-
 bellion in *America*? Is it, I would ask, war-
 rantable for Opposition to make Use of
 every Means, however wicked, to attain
 their Ends? What shall we think of Men
 who scruple not to excite general Calamities
 for the Sake of Party Attachments? If such
 Principles are Praise-worthy, it follows that
 we must commend the sacrificing the Ho-
 nour and Interest of *Britain* at the Shrine
 of Venality; a Goddess to whom I fear in-
 numerable

numerable Voraries in our commercial Isle are ever ready to pay their Devotions, and for whose Sake they would willingly encourage Rebellions throughout the *British* Dominions.

Oppositions are certainly necessary in a free State; they imply a watchful Eye on those in Power; but what Opinion can we have of an Opposition that has the Assurance, I may say the Depravity, to court the Public, and expect Applause for defending the Cause of the Congress?

To entertain any Doubt at this Time of the Views of that rebellious Assembly, would be absurd indeed; their Declarations and Conduct, plainly evince a determined Resolution to assert their INDEPENDENCY by the Sword. The Commander in Chief of the Rebel Army, in his Address to the *Canadians*, has declared as much. To aid and abet the Congress, therefore, is neither more nor less than to aid and abet the INDEPENDENCY of the Colonies.

But as Assertions are not Proofs, I shall, to remove every Objection, support what I have advanced by a Detail of Facts. And

I hope to convince such, whose Minds are open to fair and impartial Reasoning, and to whom Truth is acceptable, that the great Object of the Congress is INDEPENDENCY.

I must for that Purpose say something of the People of *New England*, as it is altogether to *their* Disaffection to the Parent State, supported by the Factionists in *Britain*, and some violent Republicans among us, we are to ascribe the present Rebellion.

That I may thoroughly explain this Matter, it is necessary the Public should be made acquainted with a very conspicuous Character, no less a Man than Mr. *Samuel Adams*, the would-be *Cromwell* of *America*. As to his Colleague *John Hancock*, that Gentleman is in the Language of *Hudibras*,

A very good and useful Tool,
Which Knaves do work with, call'd a Fool.

But he is too contemptible for Animadversion. He may move our Pity, not our Indignation. Mr. *Adams*, on the other Hand, is one of those Demagogues, who well know how to quarter themselves on a Man of Fortune, and having no Property of his own,

own, he has for some Time found it mighty convenient to appropriate the Fortune of Mr. Hancock to public Uses, I mean the very laudable Purpose of carrying on a Trade in Politics.

I need not inform my Countrymen of the Advantages of such a Kind of Commerce to Individuals. The late worthy Mayor is a notable Instance. Mr. Adams finding therefore how very profitable a Business of this Kind might be made, without the Necessity of a Capital of his own, it is no Wonder he should eagerly embrace the Opportunity of dealing in political Wares with the Demagogues of Britain.

In Justice to that Gentleman's Talents and Virtues, it must be confessed, that he is an Adept in the Business, and is as equal to the Task of forwarding a Rebellion as most Men. He is therefore far from being unworthy the Notice of British Patriots. His Politics are of a Nature admirably adapted to impose on a credulous Multitude.

Mr. Adams's Character may be defined in few Words. He is an Hypocrite in Religion

ligion—a Republican in Politics—of sufficient Cunning to form a consummate Knave—possessed of as much Learning as is necessary to disguise the Truth with Sophistry—and so complete a Moralist, that it is one of his favourite Axioms, “The End will justify the Means.” When to such accomplished Talents and Principles we add an empty Pocket, an unbounded Ambition, and a violent Disaffection to *Great Britain*, we shall be able to form some Idea of *Samuel Adams*. A Man so gifted cannot be idle; such a Man is too useful an Instrument in the Hands of that arch Fiend, who is ever planning some Mischief against weak Mortals, to escape his Notice. His Satanic Majesty is too great a Patron of Rebellion himself, to let slip the Opportunity of whispering bloody Mischief to so useful and devout a Disciple. Hence it is that Mr. *Samuel Adams*, with several of his Followers, have for some Years, at their nightly Meetings, invented News from *England*, and have even forged printed Accounts of arbitrary Measures which Government were about to enforce;

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—such

—such as taxing the Houses, the Lands, the Windows, the Necessaries of Life, of the poor *Americans*, who are to become the mere Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, to the *English* Nation.

The Scriptures too have been prostituted to the very worst of Purposes, in that Colony of Fanatics. “To your Tents, O *Israel!*” Let us oppose the “*Egyptian*” “*Task-masters*” “with the Edge of the *Sword*,” has been their Language. It is, in short, a known Fact, a Fact that can be attested beyond the Possibility of a Doubt, by Persons now in this Metropolis, that for these eight Years past, a Resistance to every Measure of Government has been concerted between certain seditious political Adventurers in *Britain*, and their Brethren in *America*, but more particularly in *New-England*.

And therefore the Duty on Tea, a Jealousy of Taxation, was but a mere Pretence for the present unwarrantable civil War. Such a Pretence may have Weight with superficial Reasoners, with an unthinking Multitude, and with the Enemies of the *British* Constitution; while to every Man of

of Candour, willing to examine before he determines; to a Lover of Truth, who is open to Conviction, it will appear evident, that a Correspondence has been carried on from this Country with the violent Republicans in *America*, in order to enforce a Change of Ministers, or to excite a general Revolt of all the *American Colonies*. But it will be objected—if the Cause of the *Massachusetts* is unjust; if the Conduct of the People of that Country is altogether owing to factious Opposition and Republican Principles, for the Purpose of Independency; how came all the different Colonies to be so very unanimous in making it a common one, and more particularly the Province of *New-York*: A Province, ever considered as the most loyal of all the Colonies. Such an Unanimity is surely a strong Circumstance in their Favour; for Colonies of different Interests thus to unite, is a presumptive Evidence, at least, that Justice is on their Side.

I will endeavour to explain this Matter as far as my own Experience and Information will allow; and thereby obviate an Objec-

tion, that will be found, upon Examination, to be plausible only.

When it was first determined, in the City of New-York, to send Delegates to the General Congress, it was the received Opinion of those who appointed them, and of the Delegates themselves, an Opinion I have more than once heard them assert, and in Justice to those Gentlemen it ought to be repeated, that although they meant to maintain their Rights and Liberties becoming Freemen, they were far from entertaining the most distant Idea of drawing the Sword against Great-Britain. But on the contrary, it was their earnest Wish, to propose Terms of Agreement, on constitutional Principles, between the Parent State and the Colonies.

As a Proof of the Truth of what I now advance, I do affirm that Mr. Isaac Lowe, one of the New-York Delegates, a respectable and worthy Merchant of that City, did move, on the first Meeting of the Congress, to pay for the Teas destroyed at Boston, and to adopt healing Measures with the Parent State; he was seconded by an able Lawyer of the same City, supported by several others,

and

and, more particularly by Mr. Galloway, a Pennsylvania Delegate, who in a very pathetic Speech told the Congress, with Tears in his Eyes, they were about to precipitate themselves into Ruin; and he at the same Time presented them with a Plan of Reconciliation, which I am certain could not come from a fitter Person; for let it be noted, that Mr. Galloway is one of the greatest Lawyers in America, retired from Business with a large Fortune, a Native of that Country, and acknowledged by every Body that knows him, to be a very honest Man. But such was the Influence of the New-England Republicans, such the Violence of that Party, a Party that will not brook Opposition, even in the Congress, that Mr. Galloway's Plan was rejected with Disdain, and himself exposed to every Contumely.

Mr. Lowe and Mr. Galloway, therefore, finding there was no Probability of reconciling the Colonies and the Parent State, with a Spirit becoming wise and honest Men, refused to officiate any longer as Delegates to a Congress that was determined to wage War, in order to throw off their De-

Dependence on Great Britain. Nothing less can be ascribed to Subjects, when they refuse to treat with that Government to which they owe Allegiance, and spurn at the Idea of making Satisfaction for Injuries received.

But further: It is well known, that when the Resolves of the first Congress appeared in Print in the City of New York, the most respectable Gentlemen of that City were astonished. Inflammatory Declarations to the People of England, to the People of America, and above all to the Canadians, with a View to provoke a general Revolt, convinced every Friend to the British Empire, that while a pretended Jealousy of Taxation was the Pretence, INDEPENDENCY was the real Object of the Congress; or why all these hostile Proceedings? When if the Dispute arose merely on Account of a speculative Claim, it might surely have been settled without bidding Defiance to the Mother Country.

The Assembly of New York, dissatisfied with the Congress, directed their Measures accordingly, and disclaimed all Connections with

with a Congress, which they plainly foresaw would involve the whole Continent in a rebellious War with the Parent State.

But Violence has so taken the Lead in *America*, that even in the loyal City of *New-York*, the Republican Demagogues (of which there are too many throughout *America*) in the Month of *April* last, by arming their Rabble with Guns and Bayonets, together with the Assistance of some hundreds of *New-England* Men in Arms, made themselves Masters of that City, and set on Foot an arbitrary and iniquitous Association, by which Individuals were compelled to sign themselves Rebels, or be held out to the Populace as the Enemies of *American* Liberty.

How very different was the Conduct of Government, anxious to prevent the shedding the Blood of Subjects, dreading the evil Effects of civil War, commiserating the Fate of thousands that must become the Victims, if Rebellion should take place! What did the Minister do? He still held out Terms of Reconciliation, and although repeated Injuries had been offered to *Britain*

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by the Colonies of Massachusetts and Rhode-
 Island; and that the Property of British
 Subjects had been wickedly destroyed in
 Contempt of all Law and Authority, not
 by an Act of the Populace, but by a con-
 sidered Plan; he nevertheless, wished to settle
 the Dispute concerning Taxation in a con-
 stitutional Manner. Generous as his Pro-
 posal may appear to every candid Examiner,
 and more particularly when offered to a
 People that but ill deserved the Lenity and
 Moderation of Government, how was it
 received in America? The Language of Op-
 position was echoed in the Congress. The
 Proposal was ungratefully considered as a
 Lure to entrap them. The Minister's Mean-
 ing was explained away, and the Americans
 were told by their pretended Friends, but
 in Fact their very worst Enemies, that no
 Good could be expected from such a Minister
 as Lord North; they had better therefore
 continue steady in their hostile Proceedings,
 and wait a Change of Administration, which
 would be entirely devoted to their Interest;
 that this Change must soon happen, as it
 was expected that Troubles in England and in
 Ireland,

Ireland, together with a foreign War, would ere long compel the present Ministers to resign.

In Consequence of which, when the conciliatory Plan made its Appearance in *America*, it was resolved in Congress, that They think it a high Breach of their Privileges for any Body of Men **EXTRANEOUS** to their Constitutions, to prescribe the Purpose for which Money shall be levied on them; to take to themselves the Authority of judging of their Condition, Circumstances, and Situations, and of determining the Amount of the Contribution to be levied."

In Answer to which I shall observe, If there is any Supremacy at all in this Country over the Colonies, that Supremacy must be in the three Estates. It follows, therefore, if any one Branch of the Constitution, the King for Instance, has a Right to require a Supply from the *Americans*, that the three Estates of the Realm have a more justifiable, a more constitutional Right to make such a Demand, in the Opinion of every Man that is a Friend to the *British* Govern-

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ment. If the Parliament of *England* is to take no Cognizance of the Money raised in *America* for public Purposes, what Abuse may not the Servants of the Crown make of such Money? The Question therefore may be reduced to this short Issue: Has the Parent State a Right to demand a Supply from DEPENDENT Colonies for the general Expence of the whole Empire? She certainly has such a Right.

The Inhabitants of the Colonies are the Subjects of *Britain*; they are protected and defended by the Army and Navy of *Britain*, equally with the Inhabitants of that Country; is it not fair then, that in Proportion as the *Americans* increase in Riches, as their Estates become more valuable, they should contribute their Share of the public Expence? The People of *England* are taxed in Consequence of the last *American* War; is it not equitable that the *Americans* should bear their Part?

By the conciliatory Plan, a Plan evidently proposed and carried in Parliament, to remove every jealous Fear of the Friends of Liberty in *America*, this Proposal is made

to

to them with all the Candour of a wise and just Government. A Treaty is thereby proposed, for the granting of such Sums as may be ascertained on an equitable Footing, to be raised in the different Colonies, in the Manner the *Americans* may think fit, with an Offer to Parliament of what they can afford to give. They are, in short, left to tax themselves; and *Great-Britain*, in order to meet them on their own Ground of Reasoning, waves the Right of taxing them in particular Instances, so long as the Colonies shall be willing to raise the necessary Sums their own Way. And for what Purpose? For their own immediate Protection, against Invaders that might otherwise destroy their Cities, and lay waste their Country from one End of the Continent to the other, having no naval Power of their own to defend themselves. What therefore can be more reasonable than this Proposal? What more consistent with the *British* Constitution? The most free, the most equitable Government in the World. The rejecting it with Contempt cannot be vindicated by moderate and honest Men.

and the Colonies, will not be approached by
 any Friends of the British Empire. "other
 And can the Cause of a Congress in War
 with Great Britain, at War, without by
 them commenced, against a Parent that has
 been too indulgent to emigrate his Children
 to such a Cause? I say, and a
 statesman member of the House of Parliament
 as to convince the Reader that the highest
 a Supply in America is founded on Equity,
 this is proved by Mr. Franklin, the Governor
 of New Jersey, in his Speech to the Assembly
 of that Province, "that the Dependence of
 the Colonies on the Mother Country at
 this Time amounts to upwards of
 1,000,000 per Annum, when at the Peace
 of 1763 it did not exceed
 500,000. And it is justly observed by
 a late Governor, "that if the conciliatory
 Plan is rejected, it is not that it is more
 objectionable than the Mode of Taxation, but
 that the Americans have the best Vantage
 ground to throw off every Control of the
 Legislature. The Assembly of New-York
 admits "that their Subordination to Parlia-
 ment is universally acknowledged."

to it's said in the Resolves of the Congress,
 y^d How we are to contribute equally with the
 " other Parts of the Empire, let us equally
 " With them enjoy free Commerce with the
 y^d whole World. The Term *equally* is here
 insinuously introduced. All that is required
 of the Colonies is an *proportionable* Supply.
 But who is to be the Judge? I answer, that
 Past of the Empire where the Supremacy is
 lodged is to be the Judge, on there is an
 End of all Supremacy. Oppositions in Parliament for the Sake
 of coming into Office, will be a Security to
 the Colonies. Oppression is not to be ap-
 prehended from Ministers in this Country,
 while the Enjoyment of lucrative Places is
 such a powerful Motive to supplant them.
 But to satisfy the Public, that the Colonies
 were at one Time willing to contribute to
 Government, although they now hold a
 very different Language, both with Regard
 to Parliamentary Authority, and such Con-
 tribution, I shall refer to certain *Extracts*,
 by which it will appear, that in the Year
 1765 the Assembly of *New-York* readily ad-
 mits, " that their *Subordination* to Parlia-
 " ment is universally acknowledged."

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Nevertheless in the Resolves of the last Congress, we find that they consider the Authority of Parliament as *extraneous* or foreign to their Constitutions.

But further: It is common for such as espouse the Cause of the Congress, to assert that the Americans have at all Times contributed sufficiently towards the public Supply, and that it is not reasonable to expect any Thing from them at present.

In Answer to these Assertions, I will present them with another Quotation, by which it appears, that in the Instructions drawn up by the Pennsylvania Committee, is the following very remarkable and pertinent Assertion.

"We now think we ought to contribute more than we do, to the Alleviation of the Burdens of the Mother Country." And further, they solemnly declare, "that if they or their Posterity shall refuse, neglect, or decline thus to contribute, it will be a mean and manifest Violation of a plain Duty."

And even the Congress say, that "the necessary Support of Government" here,

“here, we ever were, and ever shall be,
 “ready to provide.” And thus we find that Congress
 “This was their Language in 1774, upon
 what Pretence therefore, I would ask, could
 they afterwards object to Lord North’s con-
 ciliatory Plan, but wickedly and absurdly
 prefer an Appeal to the Sword, when that
 Plan evidently means no more than what
 we have shown they had in the most express
 Terms acknowledged themselves ready to
 submit to. For what does Government re-
 quire of them? Nothing more than a pro-
 portionable Supply; which, by their own
 Confession, is reasonable, and to refuse
 which would be a “manifest Violation of
 “a plain Duty.”

And yet, notwithstanding all their De-
 clarations, they are not ashamed at being
 confuted with their own Words, and now
 plainly tell you, in Defiance of what they
 have before acknowledged, that unless you
 will grant them a free Trade (a Proposal
 which they well know cannot be received,
 but is started as a new Ground for factious
 Dispute) they will not contribute one Shil-
 ling to the public Expence.

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to send the Measures of the Legislature to the Colonies, and their
Participation in Britain, the very fond of assert-
ing boldly, without Information, that the
Colonies wanted not the Assistance of Great-
Britain against France: they have even the
ingratitude to assert, that Great-Britain of-
ficiously interfered in their Disputes with
France, merely for her own Sake. These
Such Assertions must appear grossly ab-
surd, at the same Time that they fire every
honest Englishman with Indignation.
But as a Proof that these Assertions are
as false as they are ungrateful, I will give
the following Extract of a Representation
of the Commissioners met at Albany, July 9,
1754. "That it is the evident Design of
the French to surround the British Colo-
nies, to fortify themselves on the Back
-on the east, that there is therefore the utmost
Danger the whole Continent will be sub-
jected to that Crown."
And to enforce, in Consequence, the Ne-
cessity of a speedy Relief, it is further add-
ed, that the Colonies being in a divided,
undivided State, there has never been any
joint Exertion of their Forces or Coun-
cils.

cils, to repel or defeat the Measures of
the French, and particularly Colonies are
unable and unwilling to maintain the
Cause of the whole, that therefore it
seems absolutely necessary that speedy and
effectual Measures be taken by Great
Britain to secure the Colonies from the
Slavery they are threatened with.

These Extracts are taken from a justly
admired Pamphlet, called, *The Contrivance
between Great Britain and her Colonies re-
viewed.*

And now, is not every Englishman justi-
fied in asserting, that the Americans are
guilty of the basest Ingratitude, and of the
most audacious Falshoods, in their Disputes
with the Parent State? And must it not be
inferred likewise, that there are no Limits
to the Claims of the Colonies; no Boundaries
to their NATURAL RIGHTS; and that no-
thing less than INDEPENDENCY will satisfy
them?

It is altogether needless to dwell on fur-
ther Particulars; nothing can be more ob-
vious, than that the Language of America
is the Language of Disaffection to the Con-
stitutional

stitutional Supremacy of the Parent State; and that their Claims are supported by the most futile, and even contradictory Arguments. They well know that any Kind of Reasoning will do with the Multitude, if Prejudice and Passion are on the same Side of the Question.

But I have demonstrated, I hope to every candid Well-wisher of the *British* Empire, that the *Americans* are in Contradiction with themselves, as well in what relates to the granting a Supply to Government, as with regard to the political Principles now held by the Congress; and indeed nothing can be more evident, than that the Doctrine of the *Americans*, and their Adherents, is calculated to destroy the very Spirit of our happy Constitution of Government, by setting up an iniquitous Distinction between the Supremacy of the King and of the Parliament; submitting to the former for the mere Purpose of getting rid of the latter. It surely cannot be supposed, that the *American* Republicans, in thus complimenting the King, can have any other Meaning than INDEPENDENCY of the King, whom they call "THEIR."

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and that their Claims supported by the
- That this is their Meaning, is evident
from all their Proceedings, and more espe-
cially from their presenting a Petition to his
Majesty, when they well know that the
limited Power of a *British* Monarch, will
not justify his treating with Subjects, while
they are in Arms against the Authority of
the *Senate*.

It is not the Ambition of our Sovereign
to become a Party with Rebels, against
the two Houses of Parliament. Moreover,
he is wise enough to discover the cloven
Foot that is concealed under the fanatical
Garb of Republican Hypocrisy.

A noble Lord, whose deep Penetration
and quick Discernment cannot be imposed
on by the most subtle Sophistry, has justly
inferred in a Speech, in the House of Lords,
that they (the *Americans*) "would allow
" the King a nominal Sovereignty over
" them, and nothing else. They would
" throw off their Dependency on the Crown
" of *Great-Britain*, but not on the Person
" of the King, whom they would render a
" CYRER."

This is a much distressed Petition and should
 for the consideration of your Majesty and
 the Honorable House of Commons. I am to desire
 your Majesty and the Honorable House of Commons
 to be so good as to direct the King and
 his People. But let us determine in what
 Manner it comes before his Majesty, and
 from whom. It comes from an illegal Body
 of Men, who have sent over a Petition,
 couched in the most seditious Terms, and ad-
 dressed to the King, without offering any
 Satisfaction for the Tears destroyed in Boston,
 in proposing conciliatory Measures to the
 established Government. The three Estates
 of the Realm, with a View to restore
 Peace and good Harmony, on constitutional
 Principles between the Parent State and
 the Colonies. of assigning to send off their Allegiance to send off
 But such a Mode of Proceeding, I sup-
 pose, was deemed too humiliating to the
 high and mighty Congress, and therefore spe-
 cially as in so doing they would have ac-
 knowledged the Supremacy of Parliament.
 It was therefore thought more suitable to
 their Dignity, for them to send over a Petition
 to the Honorable House of Commons, while their pe-
 titioned to justify and defend the Honorable
 House of Commons, and the Honorable House of Commons, and
 the rebellious Conduct of the Massachusetts, and

and at the same Time did all in their Power to stimulate the People of *England*, and of *Ireland*, to join with them in their Revolt. A Conduct which these very dutiful and loyal Petitioners vindicate upon the Principles of Justice most solemnly and most justly. To sum up the Proceedings of the Congress in a few Words. They have withheld Finance from Parliament by denying its Authority, and have therefore put it out of the Power of Parliament to interfere in their Behalf, or of the King to take Part with them without quarrelling with their Senate. They are engaged in a systematic War against the Mother Country, evidently to throw off their Allegiance to the Government of *Britain*. And, to crown the whole, this very loyal and dutiful Petition, addressed to the King, is signed by a Man (*John Hancock*) that is justly deemed, and has been proclaimed, a Rebel to his King. If Absurdity, Illegality, and Treachery, are Characteristics necessary to constitute a Petition fit for his Majesty to receive, it must then be confessed the Petition of the Congress to the Throne deserves the most serious

of Parliament; which when these Republic-
 can spirits have accomplished they will
 suffer serious Attention. In what other Manner
 can we define a Petition from Subjects in
 Arms, carrying on a regular Plan of mili-
 tary Operations against their Sovereign,
 appointing a Commander in Chief, taking
 Forts belonging to the Crown, invading
Canada, persecuting in the severest Manner
 the Friends of Government in *America*. For
 such Subjects, I say, thus righteously em-
 ployed, to expect that their petitioning will
 be attended to, while no Terms of Submis-
 sion are held out on their Side, is a Mock-
 ery of common Sense, at the same Time
 that it is an Indignity to the Crown, the
 Parliament, and the People of *Britain*.

Those must be sturdy Beggars indeed,
 that petition and fight at the same Time.

This Petition to the King is then an In-
 sult to Majesty—And by petitioning the
 King only, while they deny constitutional
 Authority of Parliament, they in other
 Words deny all CONSTITUTIONAL SUPREMA-
 MACY, and assert their INDEPENDENCY.

For the present, indeed, they in Appear-
 ance acknowledge the Supremacy of the
 Prince, in order to shake off the Supremacy
 of

of Parliament; which, when these Republican Spirits have accomplished, they will, they must, consistently with their own Principles, trample on the Prerogatives of the Crown itself.

But all speculative Reasoning is at an End, I fear;—Great-Britain is at War with the Congress, and if ever this Country had Justice on her Side in any War, it is surely in the present.

Her rebellious Subjects were the first to commence Hostilities, not only by the Destruction of British Property, but by the shedding of British Blood; a Fact now attested beyond Dispute, by Men whose Characters will bear the nicest Scrutiny. Success in the Field, or Submission on the Part of the Rebels, will be the only Means of concluding this unnatural Rebellion, with any Degree of Honour to Great-Britain: And her Honour ought to be as dear to her as her Interest, or she will become the Contempt of all foreign States—and even of the Americans themselves.

Those who are base enough at this Time to oppose and obstruct the Armaments of Britain,

Britain, are most indubitably the Enemies of *Britain*; for it cannot be doubted, that he who would go about to forward the Independency of the Colonies, is not only an Enemy to *Great-Britain*, but to the whole *British* Empire: And we have proved, that it is for the Purpose of Independency that the Congress is at War with the Mother Country. It may be justly said of such Men, in the Words of the Author of *The Rights of Great-Britain asserted against the Colonies of America*—

“ With an Effrontery without Example
 “ in any other Age or Nation, THESE MEN
 “ assume the Name of Patriots, yet lay the
 “ Honour, Dignity, and Reputation of
 “ their Country under the Feet of her re-
 “ bellious Subjects. With a peculiar Re-
 “ finement on Parricide, they bind the
 “ Hands of the *Mother*, while they plant
 “ a Dagger in those of the *Daughter*, to
 “ stab her to the Heart; and to finish the
 “ horrid Picture, they smile at the Mischief
 “ they have done, and look round to the
 “ Spectators for Applause.”

The

The English are too generous a People, to wish that their Fellow-Subjects may be oppressed, but convinced as they must be, that it never was the Intention of this Country to oppress the *Americans*, they are too

high spirited, and too much attached to the Welfare of *England*, to espouse the Cause of Treachery, Cruelty, and Ingratitude.

The King and the two Houses of Parliament are determined; a Change of Ministers would by no Means produce a Change of Measures; the Parliament of *England* will never suffer its Authority and constitutional Rights to be trampled on by Rebels; nor will the Prince on the Throne ever consent to forward the destructive Measures of an illegal Congress, and subscribe to their imperious Terms.

I pretend not to know the exact Number of Land Forces that will be sent to *America*; but as it is not the Interest of *Great-Britain* to temporize, there is the utmost Reason to suppose she will exert every Nerve to support her constitutional Authority, and restore Freedom, Justice, and Peace to a Country, which from being the happiest in the World, when under the Controul of *Britain*, is now, alas! exposed to Tyranny, to Bloodshed, and to Ruin.

As there are too many among us who take a malicious, an unnatural Pleasure,

In

in magnifying the Numbers, the Prowess, the Zeal of the *Americans*, and who please themselves in ruminating over the Misfortunes, that in their Opinion must befall their native Country; I will, to gratify these very worthy Patriots, suppose the Success of a Land War to be doubtful.

But every Man at all acquainted with *America* must know, that if the Colonies had only the Navy of *Great-Britain* to contend with, in vain would they attempt to prevail over, and dictate their own Terms to the Parent State *.

If common Sense had not entirely forsaken that deluded People, zealous in promoting their own Destruction, I would ask them, What must be the Situation of Colonies, whose Cities and Wealth are at the Mercy of a *British Fleet*? Colonies, whose

* *N. B.* It is common for the Enemies of *Britain* to represent this Country as waging War with all the *Americans* throughout the Continent; but it is well known to such as are lately come from *America*, that many thousands in the different Colonies, particularly in *New York*, are ready to join the King's Forces.— And that upwards of four thousand Men, in one of the *Southern Colonies*, have signed an Agreement not to submit to the Orders of the Congress.

Existence, in a Manner, depends on their Trade! Or what must that Existence be, when deprived of almost every Kind of Manufacture, of many of the Necessaries and Comforts of Life.

To say that the People of *America* may live well enough without Trade, is telling us, in other Words, that Men of Fortune, and their Families, accustomed to the Luxuries of Life, to elegant Houses well furnished, to Equipages, &c. will, in Consequence of ideal Grievances, readily forego these Enjoyments, chearfully submit to become Labourers on their own Farms, and thereby place themselves, and their Wives and Children, on a Footing with the meanest Peasants. That Merchants and Tradesmen too will be resigned to their Fate when deprived of all Business.—To assert such palpable Absurdities, a Man must be really out of his Senses; such a Man rather deserves Pity than Contempt.

Adventurers indeed, trusting to the Weakness of a deluded Populace, will for their own Sakes encourage the most preposterous Opinions. These Men have nothing to lose; Times
of

of Trouble are Times of Harvest to them. It is very consistent with their Principles, and with their Interest, to prefer the being rebellious Demagogues, idolized by an unthinking Multitude, to the living on a scanty Pittance, under a wise, a just, and good Government. Folly therefore, I will allow, cannot be imputed to Mr. *Adams*, or indeed to any of the *New-England* Delegates.

To the Necessitous, Revolutions are desirable Things; to be a Treasurer, a Postmaster, &c. &c. to a Congress, are Appointments very acceptable to such Men.

If the Office of CHAMBERLAIN is not to be obtained in that Country, other Places may be worthy the Notice of these Patriots.

But to return.—There are innumerable wealthy Planters in *Georgia*, *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*. And in the more Northern Colonies, there are considerable Landholders, and Gentlemen of Fortune, enjoying large Incomes, arising from Rents as in this Country, or from Money lent to Merchants, Farmers, and Traders, at an annual Interest of 6, 7, and 8 *per Cent*. What enables such Planters, Landholders,
and

and Merchants, to live in Affluence? **Trade!** What is it furnishes Tenants with the Means of paying their Rents; and Farmers, Shopkeepers, and Tradesmen, of paying their Creditors? Is it not Trade? And is not all the *American* Trade at the Mercy of a *British* Fleet? Nothing therefore but Misery and Wretchedness must ensue, if the Colonies persist in their Revolt. Cities, Towns, and Villages, will be reduced to Ashes—private Property exposed to Rapine—one general Devastation will rage throughout the whole Continent. And should we admit what is highly improbable, that the Colonies, after a long and bloody Struggle, will be able to shake off their Dependency, what will then be their Situation? The *Americans* will become the wretched and miserable Inhabitants of a desolated and ruined Country. Thousands of Families will be reduced to Want and Beggary, while a few worthless Individuals, whose Conduct deserves the severest Chastisement, will for a Time be Men of Consequence, and enrich themselves by Means of a general Plunder. But even many of these will not long enjoy their

their ill-gotten Pelf. Internal Diffensions,
 as is the Case in all civil Wars, will neces-
 sarily arise:—Divisions in the Congress,
 from a Spirit of Rivalship and Jealousy be-
 tween the different Colonies, will ensue;—
 Quarrels with that Body of Men and their
 Armies must succeed;—Jealousies among
 the different Commanders, will be a natural
 Consequence;—the wretched and enslaved
 Peasantry, enlisting under different Banners,
 not indeed those of an *Octavius*, a *Lepidus*,
 or an *Anthony*, but a *Washington*, a *Putnam*,
 or a *Lee*, spreading Destruction and Mur-
 der throughout the *British Empire in Ame-*
rica; *Whites*, *Indians*, and *Blacks*, promi-
 cuously cutting each others Throats, will
 afford a melancholy Spectacle to the rest of
 the World. The *Americans* will then be
 convinced, when it is too late, that instead
 of being falsely alarmed by designing, re-
 bellious Hypocrites in *America*, and seditious
 Oppositions in *Britain*, at an ideal Tyranny
 in the Parent State, they are exposed to A-
 narchy, Confusion, and Bloodshed at Home,
 and thereby afford an Opportunity to some
 of their ambitious Chieftains, who, it is
 evident,

evident, from their present Conduct, are Men devoid of Principle, to establish a REAL TYRANNY throughout the COLONIES.

But I trust that the Spirit and Policy of this Country will, by a well-timed Exertion of its Power, prevent these impending Evils, and be the Salvation of *America*. May the Parent, before it is too late, be reconciled to her Children. May the Children rely, if not on the Generosity, on the Self-interest of the present, for the Security of their Liberties, and not madly trust to the Decision of the Sword, which must entail Ruin on the Parent, and on future Generations, throughout the Continent of *America*.

But if the Sword is to determine the Dispute, let not the *Americans* be deceived; the People of *England* are becoming every Day more and more unanimous, in supporting the constitutional Authority of this Country. Those who give them other Information, are their greatest Foes, and make the Calamities of *America* a factious Ground of Opposition for venal Purposes.

The *British* Spirit is not sunk so low, *Britons* are not so far degraded, as to sue rebellious

rebellious Colonies for Peace, while in Arms against the CONSTITUTION. And although I should hope that *Great-Britain* is disposed to treat with her Colonies, on Terms that may be deemed compatible with the Liberties of *America*, the Honour of the Parent State, and the Interest of both Countries; I nevertheless trust, that Government will have too great a Regard for the Welfare of the whole Empire, to renounce in any Instance the constitutional Authority of this Country. Timid Condescensions would, I am certain from my Knowledge of that Country, and of the Principles that actuate the Leaders of the *American* Rebels, be the greatest Curse that could befall *America*. Such Condescensions only serve to encourage future Rebellions, and by Degrees the *American* Demagogues, supported by disaffected Oppositions in *Britain*, will be enabled to substitute the cruelest Despotism, for the mildest Government in the Universe.

To enforce such an Opinion, because I well know it is founded on Truth—and to convince my Countrymen that the ambitious Republicans, who now reign with all the

H

Tyranny

Tyranny of Eastern Despots, throughout that vast Continent, maintain Principles tending to subvert the Constitution of *Britain*, and to establish their own INDEPENDENCY and arbitrary Power, are my chief Motives for putting Pen to Paper.

I am most sincerely attached to the Welfare of *Britain* and of *America*. It is because I am satisfied that *American* Independence is contrary to the Interest of both Countries; It is because I well know that the waging War for that Purpose, will be the Means of desolating and of laying waste the *British* Colonies from North to South, to gratify the ambitious Views of a few Individuals, who are a Disgrace to Society. It is for these Reasons, I could not refrain from offering my Opinion on the Subject. The Candid, I doubt not, will give me Credit for the Integrity of my Heart, while I am pleading to *Britons* the Cause of *Britain*—to the *Americans*, the Interest of *America*; and have endeavoured to expose such only, as are evidently the Enemies of *England* and of *America*.

“him with a sense of the sufferings of his
“We
“And therefore this petition,
“which

102
We have too many Politicians in this Country perhaps; but there are particular Epochs in the History of a free People, when Indifference to the public Interest, if it is not a criminal, is at best a narrow-minded selfish Conduct.

There never was a Time, I will venture to say, in which private and public Concerns were so blended as in the present unnatural Contest between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies. Almost every Individual is directly or indirectly concerned in the Commerce of this Island. To that Commerce *Great-Britain* owes its Greatness. How then can any Man of the least Consequence and Reflection, be indifferent at this alarming Crisis, while the Colonies are contending for Independency. It appears by the Journals of the Proceedings of the Congress held at *Philadelphia*, May 10, 1775, that in Consequence of their Petition to the Throne not being attended to, they infer, that "Their Prince was deaf to their Complaints, and
" vain were all the Attempts to impress
" him with a Sense of the Sufferings of his
" Subjects." And therefore this Petition,

which deserves not the serious Consideration of a Man at all acquainted with the *British* Constitution, has, in the Opinion of the Congress and their Adherents, justified their Claim to INDEPENDENCY. For, as a further Proof that the Congress actually entertain that Idea, I shall relate the following Anecdote, taken from a Letter of a Gentleman of undeniable Character in the City of *New York*, which might be corroborated by many respectable Persons lately from that City, viz. "The Governor of *New Jersey* summoned the Assembly to meet in December, in order to draw up a Petition to our Parliament, praying a constitutional Relief." This being made known to the Congress, three Delegates were dispatched with the following Message: "It is highly imprudent and assuming for the Assembly of any one Province, to adopt any Method of conducting a Business which concerns all *America*;" and further, "NO FADTH CAN BE PLACED IN THE DECLARATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT-BRITAIN; WE NEED NOT HOWEVER DREAD THEIR RESENTMENT, FOR WE HAVE

" As-

“ASSURANCES FROM FOREIGN POWERS
“OF ASSISTANCE.”

The Inference I shall beg Leave to draw from this very curious Quotation is, that not contented with denying the Supremacy of Parliament; not contented with passing indecent Reflections, and bidding Defiance to the *British* Senate, they even openly avow the having had Recourse to foreign Powers. And for what? To assist them in getting rid of the Controul of Parliament, whose Resentment they despise. And they have driven a King's Governor from his House and Family, at the Hazard of his Life, for only endeavouring to persuade the Assembly of *New-Jersey*, to adopt the conciliatory Measures held out to the Colonies by the Minister, as a Basis for a Negotiation.

It is unnecessary, I am sure, to give further Proofs that the Congress are contending for Independency, in which they are supported by too many among us, who wish, I fear, to forward a Revolution in *Britain*, as well as in *America*, under the plausible Pretence of supporting NATURAL RIGHTS,
and

and of a conscientious Regard for public Virtue, while they are sacrificing the whole Empire to gratify their private Ambition, and to enrich themselves in the Midst of Ruin and Desolation. And surely nothing has a greater Tendency to promote such ruinous Consequences, than the unconstitutional Principles that are at this Time maintained by the Friends of the Congress. To deny a parliamentary Supremacy over the Colonies; to maintain that the subordinate Legislatures of the different Colonies are to be considered in the same Light, in every Instance, with our two Houses of Parliament; is so preposterous, so novel, so destructive of that happy Balance which constitutes the great Excellency of our Constitution, that no honest *Englishman* can possibly approve it.

By extending the Power and the Authority of the SUBORDINATE LEGISLATURES in *America*, they not only lessen, but in a Manner annihilate the Consequence of a *British* House of Lords and Commons. For what must we think of Parliaments in this Country, if they are to be put on a Level with

with the provincial Assembly of the most insignificant Colony on the Continent of America? And yet strange as it may seem, this is the Language of *British* Senators, who support the Cause of the Congress. They are ready to prostrate, at the Altar of their different Chiefs, the constitutional Rights of that very Senate, of which they are Members.

One is astonished to hear such political Principles avowed by Men who call themselves *Whigs*. Was I not satisfied of the Abhorrence of these Gentlemen to Monarchy, I should consider them as the zealous Champions of the DIVINE RIGHT of Kings.

But as we have no more Reason to suppose they are sincere in extending the Prerogatives of the Crown than the Puritans of old, or their Descendants in *America*, who pretend a Submission to the Authority of the Prince, while they are invading his Dominions; I must therefore think, that in order to forward their Republican Principles in *Britain*, and to govern this Country by a Congress perhaps, they mean to disgust

with

disgust the People of *England* and of *America* with Parliaments; and if they can but establish the Independency of *America* by such sinister Means, the next Step will be a Revolution at Home.

To this Spirit we must ascribe the perpetual Clamour about Corruption, *Tory* Corruption, as it is called, and the Wickedness of Ministers, &c. &c. when in fact every Man of Reflection, acquainted with *History*, well knows, that Parliaments have ever been what they now are, and what they will continue to be, till human Nature is changed. A Minister must therefore take Mankind as he finds them, and promote the Good of his Country in the best Manner he is able.

But of all Governments a Republic is the very worst, in an Empire so extensive as is that of *Britain*, where Commerce, Luxury, and every Species of Refinement, have spread their Influence throughout all Ranks of Men, and have in consequence substituted a Love of Money to every patriotic Virtue.

I must observe likewise, that in Republics the Laws are too flow, and the State is apt to be too much split into Factions, to make as quick and as resolute an Example of Traitors and of Rebels in a venal Age, (and we know that in such an Age these Gentlemen are apt to abound) as may be absolutely necessary to prevent foreign Powers from taking Advantage of the Weakness of Government, and the licentious Manners of the People.

I thought this Digression necessary in treating of *American Affairs*. I now return to the Subject before me.

If the Colony Trade is of Importance to this Country, which is universally allowed, however Authors may differ as to its real Value; if that Trade is worth contending for, let us be unanimous in the Support of a constitutional Supremacy, without which the Colonies of *America* must become independent, without which the Act of Navigation will be treated by a Congress as was *Magna Charta* by *Cromwell*; and then all the Advantages arising from our *American* Commerce, will be lost to a Nation, that

has expended Millions in Bounties to those very Colonies, and wasted still more to ascertain disputed Limits with a rival Power. These Colonies are forgetful of Benefits received, and of the Power that has ever given them Assistance in the Hour of Danger; and by which the Estates of the *Americans* are increased in Value, in Proportion to the Millions expended in their Defence; and they are now a Prey to ambitious and designing Men, and what is still more extraordinary, supported in their Rebellion by the very Man, who squandered the Nation's Money to defend them when he was Minister.

Rouse, *Britons!* rouse! be as warm in the Cause of *Old England*, as the People you are now at War with are sanguine in the Defence of rebellious Systems. Shall not we support and transmit to our Posterity the Rights of that Constitution, for which our Ancestors have fought, and so many real Patriots have cheerfully laid down their Lives?

If the Subjects of *Britain* in *America* are at War with the Parent State, because they
disclaim

disclaim the constitutional Authority of this Country, and by new-invented Distinctions of Supremacy, destroy all Supremacy;—if, to make Use of the Words of the Congress, they consider the Authority of Parliament as *extraneous* or foreign to their *Constitutions*, which they positively assert in their Resolves on Lord North's conciliatory Plan;—if the disputing the legal Power of the Mother Country, I say, is the grand Cause for which the Colonies are waging War with *Britain*, and it is most evident that this is really the Case;—if, on the other Hand, it is admitted that the Supremacy I contend for has always been maintained in Parliament, and supported by the Prince, under every Administration, how much soever different Administrations may oppose each other in particular Instances;—if this is allowed me, (and no Man of Candour, I believe, will attempt to dispute so plain a Fact) it surely then behoves every Member in both Houses of Parliament, to set aside for the present all Party Animosity, and reflect that there is such a Thing as patriotic Virtue: That if ever an Exertion

in Behalf of their Country was necessary. It is at this Time, and that it is the Duty of *British* Senators to stand forth in Defence of that Constitution which is entrusted to their Care. When the Representatives of a free People observe a contrary Conduct, the Public have then the utmost Reason to suppose that interested Views of Opposition, and factious Animosity, have a far greater Influence on their Proceedings than any Regard to those parliamentary Rights they are chosen to defend.

The *Rock*——*m* Party cannot surely pretend to vindicate the rebellious Conduct of the Congress, after having declared, in the most positive Manner, the Right of Parliament “to bind them in all Cases whatsoever.” From a recent Knowledge of the Principles of the *Americans*, I can assert, that this declaratory Act is considered, and indeed with some Reason, as arbitrary in the highest Degree. Lord North’s Proposals, whatever Objections may be made to them, are, I am sure, infinitely more generous. But the one Lord is in Opposition, the other is the Minister; and to assert that a Minister

Minister can be right, would be strange indeed.

I cannot help thinking however, that the Eloquence of Mr. Burke will never be able to support him in pleading the Cause of the Congress, when the Principles of his Party are so directly opposite to those of the rebellious Americans.

That Gentleman may declaim, may amuse, but he cannot convince. The destructive Path of Error he will, no Doubt, as usual, strew with Flowers, but those Flowers must fade, when exposed to the resplendent Sunshine of Truth.

Common Sense will not justify the opposing Principles, which he himself espoused in the EXTREME, when his Friends were in Power.

And even Lord Chatham, the Champion of the Congress—ever in Opposition when he ceases to be Dictator—a Well-wisher to his Country, when he alone directs the Helm of State—does not that noble Lord, as much as any Man, contend for the Supremacy of Parliament? does he not affirm, in the most positive Manner, we may
“ bind

“ bind their Trade, confine their Manu-
 “ factures, and exercise every Power what-
 “ ever, except that of taking Money out of
 “ their Pockets without their Consent.” I

Here we find the Authority, the Supre-
 macy of the *British* Parliament over the
 Colonies, asserted in the strongest Terms
 that Language can express. And by whom?
 By the Man that has ever professed himself
 to be a Friend to the Liberties of *America*,
 and is honoured as such in that Country.

As to the Right of Taxation, or to use
 Lord *Chatham's* own Words, the taking the
 Money out of the Pockets of the *Americans*
 without their Consent, all Cavils on that
 Subject are now in a Manner removed.

The parliamentary Right of taxing the
 Colonies is not indeed given up in Form,
 because, as well as for other Reasons, no
 Minister in this Country would DARE to do
 it.

That Right is however SUSPENDED. (per-
 haps for ever) if the Colonies are willing to
 raise a Supply their own Way, and we
 have proved that they have at different
 Times declared themselves ready so to do,

as

as likewise that the Language they now hold entirely contradicts their former Declarations. Such is their Duplicity and Tergiversation.

I have already observed, that Lord North's Proposal may be liable to Objections. I am no Dogmatist, I am no Bigot to particular Creeds.

But surely every candid Man will acknowledge, that the Minister's Proposal was fair and equitable; it was a Measure to meet, if possible, the Colonies half Way. It was an Offer on the Part of Government to bring about a Reconciliation, with the generous Intention of affording Relief to such Complaints of the Colonies, as carry with them the Appearance of what may become Grievances, and holding out the Means of preventing future Jealousies.

Overtures of Peace, becoming good Subjects, must now therefore come from America; nor can the Sword be sheathed, with any Honour to this Country, until such Overtures are made.

I sincerely wish they may be so framed as to secure the Liberties of America, and the

constitutional Supremacy of the Parent State. But alas ! when we reflect on the ambitious, interested Views of many Adventurers in *America*, who can only be of Consequence in Times of Trouble, elated with their usurped Power, and supported by a factious Opposition on this Side the *Atlantic*, it is to be apprehended, that the Colonies will persist as long as they are able in an obstinate Resistance to the Parent State ; but in such Case, the Odium will fall entirely on themselves. And then every Friend of Liberty and of the *British* Constitution in the Colonies, may with Truth and Justice declare, “ I draw my Sword in Defence of
 “ the Liberties of *America*, in Defence of
 “ the Government of *Great-Britain*, against
 “ the Oppression, the Despotism, and the
 “ Tyranny that now prevail throughout
 “ that Continent.”

Be assured that the *British* Army, instead of having all the *Americans* to contend with, (as some ignorant People, who have never crossed the *Atlantic*, and know nothing of the Matter, most idly and insidiously insinuate) will, on the contrary, be joined by many thousands in the different Colonies,
 if

if required, who will chearfully repair to his Majesty's Standard.

And when the Enemies of Peace, of Law, and of Order, behold such Numbers, Spirit, and Resolution unite against them, with the HOWES at their Head, the one commanding a formidable Army, while the other with a numerous Fleet, will co-operate with his Brother, to restore constitutional Liberty to a persecuted and enslaved People; the Demagogues of *America* will then, I doubt not, become as abject in the Hour of Danger, as they are now insolent and overbearing at the Appearance of Success.

The Merchant, the Tradesman, the Farmer, and the Peasant, will be happy to throw aside the Sword, and return to their several Occupations; they will rejoice in acknowledging a constitutional Allegiance to the only Government, in which Supremacy, Protection, and Liberty are united, in as great a Degree, as is consistent with human Nature.

It would be somewhat extraordinary to conclude this Pamphlet without taking Notice of Dr. Price.

K

But,

But, upon Reflection, I have no Business, in my present Enquiry, with any other Part of his Performance, than that which relates to *America*. I would charitably hope the Doctor is ignorant of the actual Situation of that Country, of the Manners and Principles of the Inhabitants, and of their Motives for entering into Rebellion; But be that as it may, his Assertions are as positive as they are erroneous, in what relates to the present Unanimity of the Colonies, in supporting the Cause of the Congress against the Mother Country; I shall therefore say no more of this reverend Divine, than that I fear he is one of the many Instances of Time-serving Priests, whose Creeds are ever implicitly believed, without Examination, when addressed to the Passions, and not to the Understandings of their Hearers.

And now to conclude with a short Recapitulation. I have endeavoured to prove, that the Colonies are at War with the Parent State, for the Purpose of INDEPENDENCY. I wish not to impose upon the Public—I mean to convince, by an Appeal to Facts, and the obvious Inferences to be drawn

drawn from them. I am open to Conviction. I should be happy to change my Sentiments. But, for the present, I must think, that Independency is the Object of the Congress in *America*; when, instead of offering Satisfaction for a daring rebellious Act of Violence and Injustice, they, on the contrary, VINDICATE and DEFEND their iniquitous Conduct with the SWORD, in Contempt of the established Government, whose Authority they set at DEFIANCE; when, after repeated Insults to the Parent State, inflammatory Declarations, insidious Addresses, with a View to excite a general Rebellion throughout the *British* Empire, they actually take Possession of Forts and military Stores, belonging to the Crown, and invade whole Provinces; when they reject with Disdain conciliatory Proposals, and will not even so much as deign to make those Proposals, however generous, a Basis of Negotiation, but have DARED to spurn at them; which plainly shews they either do not mean to treat at all with the Mother Country, or that they mean to prescribe such Terms as they well know she cannot

accept, and are therefore determined to assert their INDEPENDENCY: when they positively deny, in the Resolves of their Congress, the CONSTITUTIONAL SUPREMACY of the two Houses of Parliament, until of late never disputed on this, or on the other Side the *Atlantic*; a Position, which to the Disgrace of the Age, is now made a factious Ground of Opposition here, and a Plea for Independency in *America*; a Position, which, if admitted, would totally annihilate the Spirit of the *British* Constitution, by rendering the legislative Authority of this Country insignificant and contemptible.

But I shall be told, that the Petition of the Congress to the Throne contradicts my Assertion, that the Colonies are fighting for Independency. I have already observed in what Manner that Petition must be considered by every Friend to the Constitution. I shall now again repeat, that it is impossible the Petition of the Congress to his Majesty, can have Weight with such as have any Regard for the legislative Authority of this Country, or even with those who are attached to the King only: for is it not
manifest,

manifest, that this Petition is an Insult to the executive, as well as the legislative Supremacy of this Country?

-In what other Light can his Majesty consider the taking of Forts, and shedding the Blood of his Subjects; while, for Form Sake, these hostile Petitioners acknowledge his Supremacy, but evidently deny his Authority; while they affect an Allegiance to the Person of the King, the better to get rid of the Controul of Parliament, which is only a Prelude to an Independency of King and Parliament; that has ever been predominant in the Minds of those puritanical Republicans, who now take the Lead in *America*, and who are, I am sorry to say it, (but it is a Truth that ought not to be concealed at this Time) the Enemies of the *British* Constitution in Church and State.

Is it not evident then, that at the Time the Congress are in Rebellion, because they deny the legislative Supremacy of Parliament, they equally despise and bid Defiance to the Power and the Prerogatives of the Prince, by their ACTIONS, although with an Hypocrisy peculiar to themselves and their Adherents, they in WORDS pretend

tend the utmost Duty and Loyalty to his PERSON—a Loyalty which, was it real, would be destructive of parliamentary Rights, and in Consequence of *British* Freedom.

But be assured, this hypocritical Attachment to their Prince, is like that of their Ancestors, and they would forward their Independency by the same Means. Thus have I concluded a Task, which I thought incumbent on me as a good Subject.

I expect to be accused of Passion, Prejudice, and Antipathy to Individuals. I avow the Charge. I shall ever profess the utmost Abhorrence to Men who are the Enemies of the *British* Empire; Men who are endeavouring to establish *American* Independency, and are the Patrons of Rebellion for that Purpose.

But I shall always be a Friend to the LIBERTIES of AMERICA, and it is for that very Reason that I am thus strenuous in supporting the Supremacy of *Great-Britain* in KING, LORDS, and COMMONS.

F I N I S.

